DRAFT PROPOSAL HANDED BY THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR (NOMURA)
TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE ON MAY 12, 1941

CONFIDE TIAL MEMORANDUM AGREED UPON BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN.

The Governments of the United States and of Japan accept joint responsibility for the initiation and conclusion of a general agreement disposing the resumption of our traditional friendly relations.

Without reference to specific causes of recent estrangement, it is the sincere desire of both Governments that the incidents which led to the deterioration of amicable sentiment among our peoples should be prevented from recurrence and corrected in their unforeseen and unfortunate consequences.

It is our present hope that, by a joint effort, our nations may establish a just peace in the Pacific; and by the rapid consummation of an entente cordiale (amicable understanding), arrest, if not dispel, the tragic confusion that now threatens to engulf civilization.

For such decisive action, protracted negotiations would seem illsuited and weakening. Both Governments, therefore, desire that adequate instrumentalities should be developed for the realization of a general agreement which would bind, meanwhile, both Governments in honor and in act.

It is our belief that such an understanding should comprise only the pivotal issues of urgency and not the accessory concerns which could be deliberated at a conference and appropriately confirmed by our respective Governments.

Both Governments presume to anticipate that they could achieve harmonious relations if certain situations and attitudes were clarified or improved; to wit:

- The concepts of the United States and of Japan respecting international relations and the character of nations.
- 2. The attitude of both Governments toward the European War.
- 3. The relations of both nations toward the China Affair.
- 4. Commerce between both nations.
- 5. Economic activity of both nations in the Southwestern Pacific area.
- 6. The policies of both nations affecting political stabilization in the Pacific area.

Accordingly, we have come to the following mutual understanding:-

I. The concepts of the United States and of Japan respecting international relations and the character of nations.

The Governments of the United States and of Japan jointly acknowledge each other as equally sovereign states and contiguous Pacific powers.

Both Governments assert the unanimity of their national policies as directed toward the foundation of a lasting peace and the inauguration of a new era of respectful confidence and cooperation among our peoples.

Both Governments declare that it is their traditional, and present, concept and conviction that nations and races compose, as members of a family, one household; each equally enjoying rights and admitting responsibilities with a mutuality of interests regulated by peaceful processes and directed to the pursuit of their moral and physical welfare, which they are bound to defend for themselves as they are bound not to destroy for others; they further admit their responsibilities to oppose the oppression or exploitation of backward nations.

Both governments are firmly determined that their respective traditional concepts on the character of nations and the underlying moral principles of social order and national life will continue to be preserved and never transformed by foreign ideas or ideologies contrary to these moral principles and concepts.

II. The attitude of both Governments toward the European War.

The Governments of the United States and Japan make it their common aim to bring about the world peace; they shall therefore jointly endeavour not only to prevent further extension of the European War but also speedily to restore peace in Europe.

The Government of Japan maintains that its alliance with the Axis Powers was, and is, defensive and designed to prevent the nations which are not at present directly affected by the European war from engaging in it.

The Government of Japan maintains that its obligations of military assistance under the Trapartite Pact between Japan, Germany and Italy will be applied in accordance with the stipulation of Article 3 of the said Pact.

The Government of the United States maintains that its attitude toward the European War is, and will continue to be, directed by no such aggressive measures as to assist any one nation against another.

The United States maintains that it is pleded to the hate of var, and accordingly, its attitude toward the European War is, and will continue to be, determined solely and exclusively by considerations of the protective defense of its own national welfare and security.

III. The relations of both nations toward the China Affair.

The Government of the United States, acknowledging the three principles as enunciated in the Konos Statement and the principles set forth on the basis of the said three principles in the treaty with the Nanking Government as well as in the Joint Declaration of Japan, Manchukuo and China and relying upon the policy of the Japanese Government to establish a relationship of neighborly friendship with China, shall forthwith request the Chiang Kai-shek regime to negotiate peace with Japan.

IV. Commerce between both nations.

Mhen official approbation to the present Understanding has been given by both Governments, the United States and Japan shall assure each other to mutually supply such commodities as are, respectively, available or required by either of them. Both Governments further consent to take necessary steps to the resumption of normal trade relations as formerly established under the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between the United States and Japan.

V. Economic activity of both nations in the Southwestern Pacific area.

Having in view that the Japanese expansion in the direction of the Southwestern Pacific area is declared to be of peaceful nature, American cooperation shall be given in the production and procurement of natural resources (such as oil, rubber, tin, nickel) which Japan needs.

VI. The policies of both nations affecting political stabilization in the Pacific area.

a. The Government of the United States and Jaon jointly guarantee the independence of the Philippine Islands on the condition that the Philippine Islands shall maintain a status of permanent neutrality. The Japanese subjects shall not be subject to any discriminatory treatment.

B. Japanese immigration to the United States shall receive amicable consideration on a basis of equality with other nations and freedom from discrimination.

Addendum.

The present Understanding shall be kept as a confidential memorandum between the Governments of the United States and of Japan.

The scope, character and timing of the announcement of this Understanding will be agreed toon by both Governments.

(AN.EX)

ORAL EXPLANATION FOR PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO THE ORIGINAL DRAFT

II. Par. 2.

Attitude of Both Governments toward the European War.

Actually the meaning of this paragraph is virtually unchanged but we desire to make it clearer by specifying a reference to the Pact. As long as Japan is a member of the Tripartite Pact, such stipulation as is mentioned in the Understanding seems unnecessary.

If we must have any stipulation at all, in addition, it would be important to have one which would clarify the relationship of this Understanding to the aforementioned Pact.

III.

China Affair.

The terms for China-Japan peace as proposed in the original Understanding differ in no substantial way from those herein affirmed as the "principles of Konoe." Practically, the one can be used to explain the other.

We should obtain an understanding, in a separate and secret document, that the United States would discontinue her assistance to the Chaing Kai-shek regime if Chaing Kai-shek does not accept the advice of the United States that he enter into negotiations for peace.

If, for any reason, the United States finds it impossible to sign such a document, a definite pledge by some highest authorities will suffice.

The three principles of Price Konpe as referred to in this paragraph are:

Doc. No. 2200 (26)

1. Neighborly friendship;

2. Joint defense against communism;

3. Economic cooperation—by which Japan does not intend to exercise economic monopoly in China nor to demand of China a limitation in the interests of Third Powers.

The following are implied in the aforesaid principles:

Mutual respect of sovereignty and territories;

2. Mutual respect for the inherent characteristics of each nation cooperating as good neighbors and forming a Far Eastern nucleus contributing to world peace;

3. Withdrawal of Japanese troops from Chinese territory in accordance with an agreement to be concluded between Japan and China;

4. No annexation, no indemnitees;

5. Independence of Manchouleuo.

III.

Immigration to China.

The stipulation regarding large-scale immigration to China has been deleted because it might give an impression, maybe a mistaken impression, to the Japanese people who have been offended by the past immigration legislation of the United States, that America is now taking a dictating attitude even toward the question of Japanese immigration in China.

Actually, the true meaning and purpose of this stipulation is fully understood and accepted by the Japanese Government.

IV.

Navel, Aerial and Mercantile Marine Relations.

(a) and (c) of this section have been deleted not because of disagreement but because it would be more practical, and possible, to determine the disposition of naval forces and mercantile marine after an understanding has been reached and relations between our two countries improved; and after our present China commitments are eliminated. Then we will know the actual situation and can act accordingly.

Courtesy visit of naval squadrons.

This proposal, (b) of IV. might better be made a subject of a separate memorandum. Particular care must be taken as to the timing, manner and scope of carrying out such a gesture.

V.

Gold Credit.

The proposal in the second paragraph of V. has been omitted for the same reasons as suggested the omission of paragraphs (a) and (c).

VI.

Activity in Southwestern Pacific Area.

The words, in the first paragraph, "without resorting to arms" have been deleted as inappropriate and unnecessarily critical. Actually, the peaceful policy of the Japanese Government has been made clear on many occasions in various statements made both by the Premier and the Foreign Minister.

VIII. (VII.)

Political Stablization in the Pacific Area.

As the paragraph (a) implying military and treaty obligation would require, for its enactment, such a complicated legislative procedure in both countries, we consider it inappropriate to include this in the present Understanding.

Paragraph (b) regarding the independence of the Philippine Islands has been altered for the same reason.

In paragraph (c) ((d)) the words "and to the Southwestern Facific Area" have been omitted because such questions should be settled, as necessity arises, through direct negotiation with the authorities in the Southwestern areas by the Governments of the United States and of Japan respectively.

Conference.

The stipulation for holding a Conference has been deleted. We consider that it would be better to arrange, by an exchange of letters, that a conference between the President and the Premier or between suitable representatives of theirs will be considered when both the United States and Japan deem it useful to hold such a conference after taking into due consideration the effect resulting from the present Understanding.

Announcement

In regard to the statement to be issued on the successful conclusion of the present Understanding a draft will be prepared in Tokio and cabled to Washington for the consideration of the United States Government.

Foreign Relations II, pp. 420-425.

23) DUC 200 (26)

Page 1

DRAFT PROPOSAL HANDED BY THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR (NOMURA)
TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE ON MAY 12, 1941

CONFIDERTIAL MEMORANDUM AGREED UPON BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN.

The Governments of the United States and of Japan accept joint responsibility for the initiation and conclusion of a general agreement disposing the resumption of our traditional friendly relations.

Without reference to specific causes of recent estrangement, it is the sincere desire of both Governments that the incidents which led to the deterioration of amicable sentiment among our peoples should be prevented from recurrence and corrected in their unforeseen and unfortunate consequences.

It is our present hope that, by a joint effort, our nations may establish a just peace in the Pacific; and by the rapid consummation of an entente cordiale (amicable understanding), arrest, if not dispel, the tragic confusion that now threatens to engulf civilization.

For such decisive action, protracted negotiations would seem illsuited and weakening. Both Governments, therefore, desire that adequate instrumentalities should be developed for the realization of a general agreement which would bind, meanwhile, both Governments in honor and in act.

It is our belief that such an understanding should comprise only the pivotal issues of urgency and not the accessory concerns which could be deliberated at a conference and appropriately confirmed by our respective Governments.

Both Governments presume to anticipate that they could achieve harmonious relations if certain situations and attitudes were clarified or improved; to wit:

- The concepts of the United States and of Japan respecting international relations and the character of nations.
- 2. The attitude of both Governments toward the European War.
- 3. The relations of both nations toward the China Affair.
- 4. Commerce between both nations.
- 5. Economic activity of both nations in the Southwestern Pacific area.
- 6. The policies of both nations affecting political stabilization in the Pacific area.

Accordingly, we have come to the following mutual understanding:-

I. The concepts of the United States and of Japan respecting international relations and the character of nations.

The Governments of the United States and of Japan jointly acknowledge each other as equally sovereign states and contiguous Pacific powers.

Both Governments assert the unanimity of their national policies as directed toward the foundation of a lasting peace and the inauguration of a new era of respectful confidence and cooperation among our peoples.

Both Governments declare that it is their traditional, and present, concept and conviction that nations and races compose, as members of a family, one household; each equally enjoying rights and admitting responsibilities with a mutuality of interests regulated by peaceful processes and directed to the pursuit of their moral and physical welfare, which they are bound to defend for themselves as they are bound not to destroy for others; they further admit their responsibilities to oppose the oppression or exploitation of backward nations.

Both governments are firmly determined that their respective traditional concepts on the character of nations and the underlying moral principles of social order and national life will continue to be preserved and never transformed by foreign ideas or ideologies contrary to these moral principles and concepts.

II. The attitude of both Governments toward the European War.

The Governments of the United States and Japan make it their common aim to bring about the world peace; they shall therefore jointly endeavour not only to prevent further extension of the European War but also speedily to restore peace in Europe.

The Government of Japan maintains that its alliance with the Axis Powers was, and is, defensive and designed to prevent the nations which are not at present directly affected by the European war from engaging in it.

The Government of Japan maintains that its obligations of military assistance under the Trapartite Pact between Japan, Germany and Italy will be applied in accordance with the stipulation of Article 3 of the said Pact.

The Government of the United States maintains that its attitude toward the European War is, and will continue to be, directed by no such aggressive measures as to assist any one nation against another. The United States maintains that it is pleded to the hate of ver, and accordingly, its attitude toward the European War is, and will continue to be, determined solely and exclusively by considerations of the protective defense of its own national welfare and security.

III. The relations of both nations toward the China Affair.

The Government of the United States, acknowledging the three principles as enunciated in the Konos Statement and the principles set forth on the basis of the said three principles in the treaty with the Nanking Government as well as in the Joint Declaration of Japan, Manchukuo and China and relying upon the policy of the Japanese Government to establish a relationship of neighborly friendship with China, shall forthwith request the Chiang Kai-shek regime to negotiate peace with Japan.

IV. Commerce between both nations.

Then official approbation to the present Understanding has been given by both Governments, the United States and Japan shall assure each other to mutually supply such commodities as are, respectively, available or required by either of them. Both Governments further consent to take necessary steps to the resumption of normal trade relations as formerly established under the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between the United States and Japan.

V. Economic activity of both nations in the Southwestern Pacific area.

Having in view that the Japanese expansion in the direction of the Southwestern Pacific area is declared to be of peaceful nature, American cooperation shall be given in the production and procurement of natural resources (such as oil, rubber, tin, nickel) which Japan needs.

VI. The policies of both nations affecting political stabilization in the Pacific area.

a. The Government of the United States and Jaon jointly guarantee the independence of the Philippine Islands on the condition that the Philippine Islands shall maintain a status of permanent neutrality. The Japanese subjects shall not be subject to any discriminatory treatment.

Doc. No. 2200 (26)

B. Japanese immigration to the United States shall receive amicable consideration on a basis of equality with other nations and freedom from discrimination.

Addendum.

The present Understanding shall be kept as a confidential memorandum between the Governments of the United States and of Japan.

The scope, character and timing of the announcement of this Understanding will be agreed soon by both Governments.

(AN.EX)

ORAL EXPLANATION FOR PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO THE ORIGINAL DRAFT

II. Par. 2.

Attitude of Both Governments toward the European War.

Actually the meaning of this paragraph is virtually unchanged but we desire to make it clearer by specifying a reference to the Pact. As long as Japan is a member of the Tripartite Pact, such stipulation as is mentioned in the Understanding seems unnecessary.

If we must have any stipulation at all, in addition, it would be important to have one which would clarify the relationship of this Understanding to the aforementioned Pact.

III.

China Affair.

The terms for China-Japan peace as proposed in the original Understanding differ in no substantial way from those herein affirmed as the "principles of Konoe." Practically, the one can be used to explain the other.

We should obtain an understanding, in a separate and secret document, that the United States would discontinue her assistance to the Chaing Kai-shek regime if Chaing Kai-shek does not accept the advice of the United States that he enter into negotiations for peace.

If, for any reason, the United States finds it impossible to sign such a document, a definite pledge by some highest authorities will suffice.

The three principles of Price Konpe as referred to in this paragraph are:

- 1. Neighborly friendship;
- 2. Joint defense against communism;
- 3. Economic cooperation—by which Japan does not intend to exercise economic monopoly in China nor to demand of China a limitation in the interests of Third Powers.

The following are implied in the aforesaid principles:

- Mutual respect of sovereignty and territories;
- 2. Mutual respect for the inherent characteristics of each nation cooperating as good neighbors and forming a Far Eastern nucleus contributing to world peace;
- 3. Withdrawal of Japanese troops from Chinese territory in accordance with an agreement to be concluded between Japan and China;
 - 4. No annexation, no indemnitees;
 - 5. Independence of Manchoultuo.

III.

Immigration to China.

The stipulation regarding large-scale immigration to China has been deleted because it might give an impression, maybe a mistaken impression, to the Japanese people who have been offended by the past immigration legislation of the United States, that America is now taking a dictating attitude even toward the question of Japanese immigration in China.

Actually, the true meaning and purpose of this stipulation is fully understood and accepted by the Japanese Government.

IV.

Mayel, Aerial and Mercantile Marine Relations.

(a) and (c) of this section have been deleted not because of disagreement but because it would be more practical, and possible, to determine the disposition of naval forces and mercantile marine after an understanding has been reached and relations between our two countries improved; and after our present China commitments are eliminated. Then we will know the actual situation and can act accordingly.

Courtesy visit of naval squadrons.

This proposal, (b) of IV. might better be made a subject of a separate memorandum. Particular care must be taken as to the timing, manner and scope of carrying out such a gesture.

٧.

Gold Credit.

The proposal in the second paragraph of V. has been omitted for the same reasons as suggested the omission of paragraphs (a) and (c).

VI.

Activity in Southwestern Pacific Area.

The words, in the first paragraph, "without resorting to arms" have been deleted as inappropriate and unnecessarily critical. Actually, the peaceful policy of the Japanese Government has been made clear on many occasions in various statements made both by the Premier and the Foreign Minister.

VIII. (VII.)

Political Stadlization in the Pacific Area.

As the paragraph (a) implying military and treaty obligation would require, for its enactment, such a complicated legislative procedure in both countries, we consider it inappropriate to include this in the present Understanding.

Paragraph (b) regarding the independence of the Philippine Islands has been altered for the same reason.

In paragraph (c) ((d)) the words "and to the Southwestern Facific Area" have been omitted because such questions should be settled, as necessity arises, through direct negotiation with the authorities in the Southwestern areas by the Governments of the United States and of Japan respectively.

Conference.

The stipulation for holding a Conference has been deleted. We consider that it would be better to arrange, by an exchange of letters, that a conference between the President and the Premier or between suitable representatives of theirs will be considered when both the United States and Japan deem it useful to hold such a conference after taking into due consideration the effect resulting from the present Understanding.

Announcement

In regard to the statement to be issued on the successful conclusion of the present Understanding a draft will be prepared in Tokio and cabled to Washington for the consideration of the United States Government.

Foreign Relations II, pp. 420-425.

٧.

Gold Credit.

The proposal in the second paragraph of V. has been omitted for the same reasons as suggested the omission of paragraphs (a) and (c).

VI.

Activity in Southwestern Pacific Area.

The words, in the first paragraph, "without resorting to arms" have been deleted as inappropriate and unnecessarily critical. Actually, the peaceful policy of the Japanese Government has been made clear on many occasions in various statements made both by the Premier and the Foreign Minister.

VIII. (VII.)

Political Stadlization in the Pacific Area.

As the paragraph (a) implying military and treaty obligation would require, for its enactment, such a complicated legislative procedure in both countries, we consider it inappropriate to include this in the present Understanding.

Paragraph (b) regarding the independence of the Philippine Islands has been altered for the same reason.

In paragraph (c) ((d)) the words "and to the Southwestern Pacific Area" have been emitted because such questions should be settled, as necessity arises, through direct negotiation with the authorities in the Southwestern areas by the Governments of the United States and of Japan respectively.

Conference.

The stipulation for holding a Conference has been deleted. We consider that it would be better to arrange, by an exchange of letters, that a conference between the President and the Premier or between suitable representatives of theirs will be considered when both the United States and Japan deem it useful to hold such a conference after taking into due consideration the effect resulting from the present Understanding.

Announcement

In regard to the statement to be issued on the successful conclusion of the present Understanding a draft will be prepared in Tokio and cabled to Washington for the consideration of the United States Government.

Foreign Relations II, pp. 420-425.

ax lo

米國政府《ど日本政府、傳統的友好関係-百開 了取極大心全般的協定一開始及口端語一展了共同 主具任うはストルントトル 近時西國問了城凌十ランメタル排殊原因一関係 ナク西政府、西國間、友好的感情了惡化さい りと満事は、国策了防止しるり見とは、サル因不幸 トツにまったカザル切り屋正スパメコトラ家にすり X午的4 Kラ 共同努力ニュリ我で西國民が太平洋元子 (是下平部一部一種立旦協着人及好的了解)達 たとが成は後に今天時に色光に高リントンから -富風、希望デアが、かで、トス阻上スルコトへなっい非に劇的混乱了清かかで、トス阻上スルコトへなっ 斯以决定的措置了為三、文併一選及、不通 デアリ、南極的デアが従り子両國政府ハソー明三 西國政府了院美工人行動上的東人口全職的 ノ 一般了茶にいてを分ナック医が雑でうとうとう 名 * 34 5g

1九回年/张妆十七年/九月十二日日本大使(野村)

「トナリとと来國政府トロ本政府と、問一協定

11=國然成成日十六人といり課等-20十分本

カルフルラ茶塚、新出州の

我、新心了解で緊急によい福要問題し、うう 合了後日會議一次下茶田議可能テトリリ其夫 2、成体三月,通宜二雄部可能一等一类部 関うかのストーにびん 面國政府我の事態を送い一能がみのが鮮明さら 一米國々と日本一國際関係及と國家一性格國達に得べいとりました。初子之之子で、初事ないとしてて、初日子人、改善なうし、十ラ八西國政一府が友好的関係一到 スと傾ぐで 1.歐川歌等一對人以西國政府一能心度 三日華華家一對人以兩國一関係 四面國門,通衛 兵西南太平洋院國一於了出國一經済活動 小大平洋成一次下了成品的中人一些智力了 局國-区第 一米國及、日本一國際関係立一國家人性格一段二面國、次一切其相至了解了美ブラ 関えい既人心。 米国は存みど日本は存いるやが平年十十 る権國デアリ大子洋之於といは持國デ アルストトサは同三部メデ 而國政府、西國一國策、少永久平和一確立 益一向國民間一善協的信賴及以協力一新

時代一創該一指回也了一千年少了十二、就意思

NO 2

探取三点符、そ而國政一位一首次於了記た。 而國政府、國家一性格、社会秩名、益二國民 生活一意酸了心道然一開之一夫之傳統的概念 が依然上、三年存せらし、日本等人道教及と概念 上田をクサンサナ半年の物人、「ーデドは、」一日 生かて変更ならいがかつし、就を確子り以生 止在以了。

小圆川野海一部公历园员后一张了本人 ルラトラは、生過目的トスト、後リテ西版府へ米國政府及、日本政府、世界中都是北京 風川東華・原の上一様大りではないからはし、ト ラズ、歐洲二甲和三角を東二人及はセラカインス 井原はかかべいい

日本的一個報國一一同期內方衛的

の日本的府、日本独党及公伊大村間、三國協的書、東京年二年的九八八月十月日上之十月上之一日的一旦日的一日本教育の一十月十十月日本一年一日一日本書の書、日下京十月日本十二月十十八回、八日明殿 是一個一個事明榜的一般然一般為人多 三降、規定、準様して通用やうしいべきフトラ王 流火了。 米國政府:朱國政府一限呈戰中一對人一點 一度、他一國一路と或一國一樣的スパが如子以都的 年段,頭在一次了之人帶來一次了不同戶了十分 ラトラ主張スル米國八米國が野子一個是八大国 ジョルーあるイルはでくて。 役り子欧州戰等一對己米國一時在局、直 國一福社会に大全一保護的所衛了目的してい 孝」を思いかりテノ、明在二次下そ久得ま二次下 水ヤンフライディーディーラ 三、目華事處一對己两國一関係 則立該三原則二其中日本政府不南京政府 十一條約及戶口本·滿洲國及八千華民國-女 同心を言いるとかがにいるとは、一角ないと 四本的在一方針,信頼、前个在以樓三好以水土中國上,各所及好際尚一樹立ち上之以 條約一位申確立セラレクル正常一関月の関係一両大化、更二面國政府、以前一日米通商及口配海 五西唐太平洋地域二於下以西國一經濟压動團一次要十八千段了講人以一十二回常以入少 西南太平洋的政大面一面下了了少少日日本人然 展、中松的性質、干一十一八十二十二年四 コト于等意と米國、日本、大西サースル天然後 原何以石田江山歸一了十四年一生在及一種 得一協力及ど支持了與リベング

Dec 220c (26).

下大平洋地域、茶ケル政治的学足二部勢でししある、及果

初体過う変とかしべいストントストをは、次五、天日二保證又し、日本不民八何年ノ差人以上天後件一下二支、次五、天同二保證又し、日本不民八何年ノ差し、男小孩所以日本孩前八丁リリンがはれるかれ人十十五状態了維持

度してる前的考虑がそへうしいいい。ひまかくり本谷民二旅りてい他しる民ト中等三年差別十天基

うしべき。 退如本下解、おかび所及ど日本政府向一が落刻を書トミナ保存と

ラシップ本下解一谷本小就園、性格及び肝期へ両少政が二根り沢足と

原草菜一种花族俗豆菜、口頭 於明(时辰 常)

和一年一年1000

欧洲新年三年との小歌方に長

でい、日本で三か同盟しか盟のデアル以上了解三张新十十分小子、日本で三か同盟しか盟のデアル以上了解三张新十十分小祥二锅定三者及在上上三月八八層川豚ニセント布望入ルモジ、京既六本項」を水、京省門六変更やラレクル二非十トドモ、芥及い

川、四部神神谷父

別」トラ子孩一種認セラレタルモトを見付いては生く差遣する原丁解一部一部一年中候は、可衛原

No. 6

doc 220c (26)

ナーナナル、実際エーなべかすう滋明スルー用になるナーナナトル、 なと、在中文学、はスパントーボル、忠生、持个石が実施と ザル持合六米引公防今在政権へ横助り中上入ベシトノア解う 大い、四個一次海青雄一体一篇作べいサナレラ。 おシ何か一種由ナ米やが野し切き書類一年名とはヤーから 合六成最高常の方ニョと明確ナルなりがイメナを今トスパン 本項一月用ヤラしろ心正衛は、三原則へ次、如い 海 羅 反 字 大是主教之对人也不同所給不 経済の協力 日本八天一体り中小一於子經済的独占了行使又也意志十月 又然三、権益とが限入、シトヤルン、後年入したなかい、 上述一原則中一八次一事項が包含セラル (、主権文に関土相互尊重。 、養婦友好でトラトはカンかし水界中地で大な大した東 一一中极于柳城镇大各人固有持衛力相立一学事人化工人 三日本軍隊一日華田二統結でラルンメ 協的二準様た中心領工了一様見 の、領土一下洋のは八下路管

い な的語養了取ツナキルカー切を印象 ひらう同違い又印象で てうしるの子是くおふかなく中ふつ日本移民、問題三丁で作行 中ふっ大規模一移民人員之保頂へ次一理由一体り削除

五 满洲的一枚五

三中小小孩民

治してててている。方では大一体とないとう日本人二郎(しゃそうかの、過去を民法一体と意味となるといる本人のなくして

天方の解セラント格り且永認セラントをルーデアしい、実際六子條項を見え、意味及び目的い日本政府二月り

四、海軍、航空及高船門係

得にかわら 本時一次十次久实際一事終り知り且ソレニュー行動之 アリス可能でてして万理由一位ツナ削除セランクシカル、アナ海軍力久局能一如備予決定としてか一層戸際的ナニが十里中の一村之我の現在、約束が解除セラリタと後の門二丁解が虚成でうしめか問一門係が改善セラレタ後本第へのは一次トラー教とで一致上ラ子中の事

題落一様都などだ

及口影图一图三样二注考写要又以、宜三月十七年的人、新一如大老子了房之二至八年時期不因了老家即十十四部一四八別問一問書一項目了不不

叫、倒了一种一

しり同様一路白一体一を略やうとろいり一方で有略やうか五第一十五頭一様果に同いかしのないいし一項で有略やう

六、西南太平洋地域三於了心治動

於子養な明うでもした。放策、首相ない外務大臣一面者三日り居中しり各種、静田田一致部的十下しかな三前除セラしる。実際二八日本政府一年初的沙一項、中国、中の対力、仟使セスミアハ下過学旦下の忠二

16.0X

人人人大学学民民一个少好品的中国

り停止やうとろいろとうといいるとうなるとは、アから至るをできることでは、アから至う本下解」となるできなし、下過高し秋々へたしい、ころのコボナを発すし立法的手續では至してしている。ままめるは終わしま務りならいのは、して利己に具

海路でうした、海馬の十直接交渉三子決定セラル、ヤヤーデアルが一番の十直接交渉ニ子決定セラル、ヤモーディアアルが一番の大子はは、日南大子は、山南大子は、山田三京トル、人は西南大子洋地政へ、一つすりへ、

トラ過多ト於く思考又と。 過去下し代本者問し会議り書館交換ニヨリ取物とり、 コトが有初十り上来(日衛をラバ大統領なり首相又以及下) 大徳二入しり上米の及い日本一句ふか称し会議と問催えし、今後、日曜これ体教へ削除とうした。本下館「ヨリエバリの女族

1 July

子得し屋と宮送でうべる。まり一年前の子は、京京三京子準備やうし、その政府一大を思す大下解が成功理二済は、セラレタルと、本京成からルズ

实外越源 图 图10一图11时时

20.0

Page 1 *

Doc. No. 2200(27) Br. Ex. 172

(Annex 2)

DRAFT SUGGESTION A HANDED BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR ON MAY 16, 1941

II THE ATTITUDES OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF JAPAN TOWARD THE EUROPEAN WAR

The Government of Japan declares that the purpose of its Axis Alliance was and is defensive and is designed to prevent the nations which are not at present engaged in the European war from participating therein, and declares that its obligations of military assistance under the Tripartite Pact between Germany, Japan and Italy come into force only if and when one of the parties of the pact is aggressively attacked by a power not at present involved in the European hostilities.

The Government of the United States declares that its attitude toward the European hostilities is and will continue to be determined solely and exclusively by considerations of protection and self-defense: its national security and the defence thereof.

The Government of Japan further declares that it is under no commitment under its Axis Alliance or otherwise which is inconsistent with the terms of the present declaration of policy and intention agreed upon between the Government of Japan and the Government of the United States.

(Annex 3)

DRAFT SUGGESTION B HANDED BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR ON MAY 16, 1941

CHINA AFFAIRS III

When this declaration of policy and intention, including the provisions of this section, is agreed upon and both Governments have given it their approval and commitment, the President of the United States will suggest to the Government of Japan and the Government of China that those Governments enter into a negotiation for a termination of hestilities and resumption of peaceful relations on a basis as follows:

- a. Neighborly friendship.
- b. Mutual respect of sovereignty and territories.
- c. Withdrawal of Japanese troops from Chinese territory in accordance with a schedule to be agreed upan.
 - d. No annexation.
- e. No indemnities.

 f. Equality of commercial opportunity in terms of and with conditions of fair treatment for all concerned.
- g. Parallel measures of defense against subversive activities from external sources.

Doc. No. 2200(27)

Page 2 *

Br. Ex. 172

p. 2

h. The question of the future of Manchuria to be dealt with by friendly negotiations.

(Annex 4)

DRAFT SUGGESTION C HANDED BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE JAPANTE AMBASSADOR ON MAY 16, 1941

V. ECONOMIC ACTIVITY OF BOTH NATIONS IN THE SOUTHWESTERN PACIFIC AREA

On the pledged basis of guarantee that Japanese activity and American activity in the Southwestern Pacific area shall be carried on by peaceful means, the Japanese Government and the Government of the United States agree to cooperate each with the other toward ensuring on the basis of equality of opportunity equal access by Japan and by the United States to supplies of natural resources (such as oil, rubber, tin, nickel) which each country needs for the safeguarding and development of its own economy.

Foreign Relations II, pp. 432-434

所原等書類二

提案人即和十六年五月十六日國務長百月月本大使三年及かいり

三、改訓教等好尼日米西國一態度

アル。数する文化的初十月初力コ生ズルモノデアルト言明方式改川歌等一極ひとレテキナト他一回ニラッテ侵略的攻三差の軍事的該的,竟務八同盟國,分一國が現在がいと同係又ら上月何がニアルト言明之旦日他、伊三國同盟二於于王門學的デアリ現在改川戰争,加入三十十十一國人日本政府、把難同盟,目的十人心十了只過天於于七現在

明三月八六万化。至上國防上司考養三年八、将二次定八八十十万九八百至一國防上司考養三年八、将二次定八八十十万九八百成子子将末二於一五當防衛即夕國家一年國政府八政州即野等一村八八米國一整人後人現在一

政府,問"現在約束十七月政策天意國"图元官日本政府八更二祖難同盟及莫一他三差夫日米田國

220C (21)

ナイ革ラ言明シタノデアできノ係之相入しナイ様ナ如何九郎等約ラモ為シテ

E were " thing "

昭和十八年五月十六日國務長公司司り日本大使三子及サ

しりなる家日

三、艾那事家

上,提案六六一下了了。

B 差隣及交関係

お王権領工一相王尊 敬

し協定條目二從ツテ中華領土內ヨリ日本軍

散息

马不弃命

る 不 照 あま

北交南原 里 品 招一部

200(27) まつう元華係者三村三下い年十八年四、係天條件元 三省一家會均等 み外部ヨリー旅源的策動、村人に同等、防御不手 成 在備門、海走員公问題、類和的天常三是此处理

> 附属天書四四 照大十六年五月十八日马禄屋百日日日本大使二生

天サレタ提兵さ

五面南太平洋地域一於下以雨必经有的活動 西南太平洋地域一於下江田米南及一路、即州平村 助手段ニヨツテをりセラしいコトラ保護之に甘全 雖三月月雨见成府、務合均等一原則二基六兩 是你了一个强体,你全及然展了了人一切要人 大以天然清原(物,二八,得,三个小学)一次给子同 多一年3日十月保護人と様は豆二部下ろり 我 為 己人